5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

some of the products

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[531]

were of uniform color; others were in varicolored stripes, or with geometrical designs of crosses, squares, triangles, etc., or sometimes with conventionalized human figures. Flower, bird, and animal figures were apparently very modern developments. (For details on

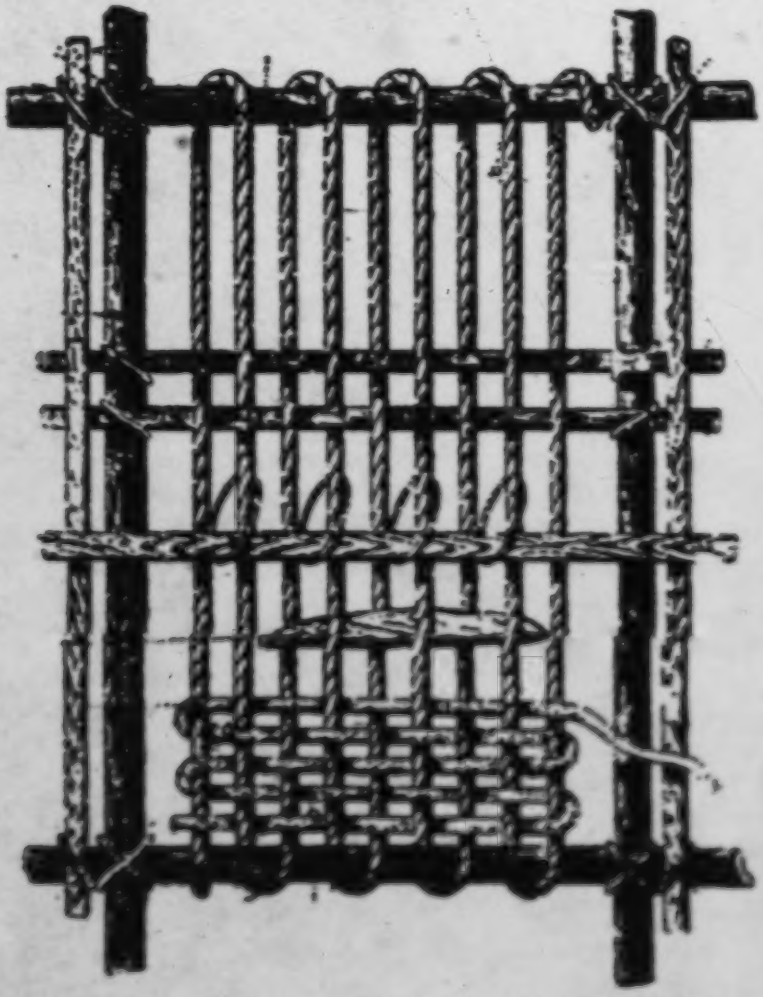

FIGURE 77.—*Mapuche loom.* (After Claude Joseph, 1938 a, p. 998.)

techniques of weaving and on woven products, cf. Claude Joseph, 1938 a; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:262–71; Mossbach, 1936, pp. 218–30; Looser, 1937, pp. 5–9; for illustrations, Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928.)

●[412]

Needles were made of thorns, wood, and bone.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

once made, was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coarctata*) at one point and letting it smoulder (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 59). Lighted bundles of *Chusquea* were used as torches (kûde). 372

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, dinking vessels (malwe), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 931, pp. 229-41); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 235, fig. 23). Sacks (refûa) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehde; small bags of skin (yapaq) for holding parched grain. (Cf. for futher details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.) 415 321 322 412

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 189), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on *Mapuche-Huilliche* incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1929, 1:328, 2:162), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Incestuous sex relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking sprees. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred one but seemingly was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter ñuke (mother) while she called him peñeñ ("son," w. s.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept rationalizing the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Coña, in Mosbach, 1936, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hallowell (1943, p. 490) by Callfû Huaiquillaf is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Several polygyny was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 40). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except the son's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative. 582 [535] 595 587

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dramatized capture. The prospective groom either personally or through go-betweens entered into negotiations with the father or elder relative 584

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Alepúe boy making a top from wood of luma: 1, Cutting a piece of wood to proper size with an ax. 2, Whittling it into shape with a jackknife. 3, Examining its proportions. 4, Smoothing its surface by rubbing it over a steel file.

[p. 76(A)]

[412]

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10: Hilger E-5 (194[illegible]1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Foods such as meat and fish and the stomach of sheep are slung over the raft or pole and there dried or smoked. Bunches of corn on the cob were seen astride the crossbars, and foods that must be kept dry, such as salt and flour, hung from them in containers. 251

Implements, probably traditional ones, used in the preparation and serving of food were seen in many households. Among them were wooden spoons, ladles, bowls, tumblers, mauls, and mortars; stone mortars, pestles, metates, and mullers; earthenware ones, such as cántaros and ollas; those made of parts of animals, such as cups, spoons, containers, and sieves; and those woven of plant fibers, namely, baskets and winnowing trays. All the above are made "by those who know how; not every family makes its own. One must have not only the intelligence to make them, but one must know how to make them and have the implements with which to make them." "I know how to make them," said the 52-year-old man, "but I do not have the necessary tools to do so." Kitchen implements of non-Araucanian origin in use were the 3-footed iron kettle, found in every ruka; knives and spoons; enamel or porcelain cups, plates, pitchers, and bowls; dishpans of tin; galvanized pails; and both iron and copper teakettles. 252 415

Of wooden utensils (pl. 42), spoons (pichana) are approximately *16 to 22 inches in length and have either a round or oval-shaped scoop* 1 to 2 inches deep. These are used for stirring and for dipping foods. Stirring is also done with sticks of hard wood (wütré). Wooden ladles (rashwe) are used for lifting hot foods, such as tortillas. Wooden bowls (ral'i) serve primarily as serviceable dishes. They were seen being used for washing meat and vegetables, mixing food, soaking wash, carrying just-dyed hot yarn, threshing grain by feet, and for storage. Bowls are hewn out of cross sections of tree trunks big enough to permit two handles, and are from 6 to 9 inches in depth. The openings of round ones approximate 15 to 18 inches in diameter; trapezoidal ones, 12 by 18 to 15 by 22 inches. Wooden tumblers are used, today, exclusively for drinking mudai at the ngillatun. A wooden tumbler exhibited in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (specimen No. 460) is 5 inches in height, nearly 3 inches in depth, and 2½ inches in diameter at the opening. The maul (trawuamakuwe), a piece of wood cut down to form a ball-like club at the end of a handle, is used for cracking or breaking beans, for jerking meats, crushing araucaria pine nuts, and for other similar operations.

Mortars (trumchadwe or katrakura) and pestles (kudi) (pl. 43, *1, 2, 3*) were used to grind and mix condiments, especially salt and chili. A few mortars were of wood; generally they are of lava stone, 252 412

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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252 412 sandstone, or stone grooved by water action; an occasional mortar in use today was plowed up—"it probably belonged to people who lived here before we came." The general shape of mortars varies, but the bowls of all are approximately 3 inches in depth. The one shown in plate 43, *a*, was made of lingue and had four nails driven into the bottom of its bowl to facilitate grinding mixtures. Pestles were smooth, elongated stones. "I picked up the one we use on the shores of the Pacific while walking there one day."

In Alepúe area, metates and mullers are shaped out of rock taken from ledges on the Pacific shore and are also given the required surface finish "by a family, the only one in all this area, who makes and sells them; this family has stone of the required texture on land near its ruka. It takes skill to make a metate and muller; each requires a different kind of roughness." Metates are trapezoidal in shape. A muller is an elongated stone, long enough to extend beyond the metate so the ends may be grasped when the muller is being used. The muller must have a rough, flat lower side and a slightly convex upper side. All edges of metate and muller are rounded. Metates generally approximate 15 to 20 inches in length, 11 to 13 inches in width, and 2 inches in thickness.

One of my informants prepared to grind wheat in a metate (pl. 44, *f*) by placing a dressed sheep pelt, reserved for this purpose, on the ground outside of her ruka, and on it the metate with widest end toward her. This end she raised by putting a small piece of wood under it. "It all depends on the worker, how high she wants it raised; I like mine raised this high," she commented. The narrow end rested on the pelt. She knelt down, took a handful of wheat from a winnowing tray nearby (she had just winnowed the grain to remove the last remnants of chaff), dropped the kernels on the metate, grasped the ends of the muller, put her weight on the muller and worked it up and down over the kernels, occasionally pushing the grain toward the middle of the metate. When a portion of the wheat was ground to the desired fineness, she allowed it to fall off the sides onto the pelt. The muller was never lifted from the metate. "Why should it be? I am grinding the wheat under it!" Toasted wheat was ground in the same manner.

252 415 The olla (*cholla*), a pottery piece of pottery, is used in cooking; the *cimbaro* (*mollicowe*), a pitcherlike type (pl. 45), not sufficiently fired for cooking purposes, is used for holding water and other liquids. More *cimbarros* than ollas were in use in households at the time of the present study. Ollas have been largely replaced by iron kettles, but several women were using ollas for storing food. Iron kettles (*ke-*

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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warmth as well. Additional light is sometimes furnished by burning wicks of twisted threads placed in bottles or tin cans containing kerosene. A lighted sliver of wood helps one find things in dark places in the ruka. If light is needed on the outside of the ruka, or when one needs to walk any distance at night, "like going for medicines for the sick," the end of a piece of wood is set on fire at the fireplace and as one walks, it is whirled in a circle at arm's length to keep it burning. "We were brought home that way one pitch dark night after caring for a sick person," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "The light keeps pereins away, too." On Christmas Eve one could see such firebrands being whirled by leaders of groups of persons coming to Midnight Mass.

Almost without exception ruka seen during the present study were orderly and clean, and so were the yards about them. Children were expected to keep everything in its proper place when not in use; if they neglected to do this, their attention was called to it. A 10-year-old Alepin boy was seen putting back an ax, which he had used to slice down a block of wood from which he was making a top, into the exact place from which he had taken it. A 13-year-old Cotiaripe boy slid off his horse when he came home from an errand, which had taken several hours, removed the saddle, and at once carried it into its corner in the ruka. Dishes, after being washed at the brook, or in water brought from there, were put in their proper places to dry.

Sweeping, both inside and outside the ruka, is done with a broom made of carpeta tied to a wooden handle with tender shoots of quqil. The yard outside of the ruka is also swept with a leafy branch of a tree or shrub. Whiskbrooms, used in cleaning bottles, pottery, and bellies of fish, are made in the same manner as the brooms. A Cotiaripe girl, about to tidy up the yard, shooed away the children, chased the pigs, and then with a leafy 5-foot branch vigorously swept the ground near and between the two rukas occupied by her family. "Most certainly one does not use this type of broom inside the ruka! This enormous thing! No, not this!" she said, somewhat annoyed, when asked if it were so used.

Household furnishings are very simple; they are meager, but adequate. Unless the family has a ruka for sleeping purposes, persons sleep in corners or along walls on sheep pelts either on the floor of the ruka or on low platform beds of planks. A non-Araucanian Alepin area herbalist had seen a row of children, each rolled in a blanket, asleep on pelts on the ground in the ruka used for sleeping. They were placed head to feet, alternately. Two adult men were sleeping in the same position on a platform bed, each rolled in a blanket. Sleep

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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415 deposited under a large horizontally laid stone slab overgrown with shrubs near Mamuil Malál. Kolupan thought that women had put 172 them there in the days when the Araucanians were being chased off their lands, hoping to reclaim them sometime. "To make a good cántaro is a great deal of work," he noted; "these women probably thought of that when they hid them. Anyway, no one could have carried much pottery when fleeing."

412 Both metate and muller (kudi and fütmkudi) were of stone. The metate was somewhat U-shaped; the muller was slightly convex, and had both ends extending sufficiently beyond the metate to enable the woman to grasp them. "Obviously our people ground wheat or some sort of grain years ago," said an 80-year-old woman, "for frequently we find metates and mullers in graves and also on the surface of the land. If we find them on the surface, we usually find ollas and cántaros there also. Maybe these were the places from which our people were driven by other people."

Mortar and pestle, too, were of stone. They were used primarily for mixing condiments, especially chili and salt. One mortar seen was 4½ inches high and approximately 5½ inches at greatest width. The hole used for mixing is 2½ inches in diameter and 1¼ inches deep.

415 The lupe is a 4-cornered piece of pottery made expressly for toasting grain. Bowls were made from pottery or were carved out of wood. Thick soups and thin stews were eaten from them. "No spoons were needed when we ate from bowls, for we drank the food directly from the bowl." Plates were made of pottery or of colihue bark. When eating off plates, spoons were used. Foods that could be eaten with fingers, such as roasts, were served in one large dish carved from a tree trunk. "I still have one large dish that we used when I was a child, and that my father made; it is about so large [18 by 36 inches]."

[321] Spoons used in eating were made by boiling horn of cattle until it appeared white, when it was soft enough to be easily cut into any shape desired. Large spoons used in stirring food in ollas and in serving it were carved from wood of quebracho. "Many Araucanians are again making spoons of quebracho; those metal spoons we buy in the stores break at the junction of the handle and scoop." Knives, in the early days, were made of quebracho also, "but they were too dull to cut most things."

Cups were made of pottery and of the head end section of horn of cattle. The smaller opening of the horn was plugged with wood. A horn cup used in Quilaquina (collection of Parque Nacional de Lanin, specimen No. 100) is approximately 6 inches in height and 3½ inches in diameter at the opening. An 88-year-old woman had made pottery